1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 Ry 4 Koryak RY4

342 I saw among the rich Reindeer Chukchee of the Kolyma River, in which it was
513 possible to stand up comfortably. The height of the Koryak inner tent varies
171 from 1.3 to 1.5 metres; its length, from 2 to 4 metres; and its width, from 1.3 to 2 metres. To the upper edges of the longer walls, thongs are fastened, by means of which the rear part of the tent is attached to the cross-bar of the frame of the outer tent. The front part, facing the hearth, is tied to a stake (Fig. 59) resting on the cross-bars attached to the frame of the tent.

The floor of the sleeping-room is strewn with willow-branches covered with reindeer-skins. The lower parts of the cover on the rear and side walls of the inner tent are tucked inside, and the bedding is placed upon them; while the cover of the front wall is tucked under only when the inmates go to bed.[1] I shall dwell here only on the difference between the Koryak and the Chukchee in the use of the inner tent.

356 The Koryak seldom break up their inner tent in order to beat it on the snow and dry it. They dry it during the day by lifting up the front part of the cover. Thus the dampness collected from the exhalations of the sleepers during the night, and lodged in the hair of the skins, and the vapors rising from the tea and warm food, mixed with dirt and fat, are only partially dissipated during the day. For this reason the inner tents of the Koryak are dirtier than are those of the Chukchee.

512 In the evening the inner tent is closed, the lamp is lighted, and the
3c12 family drink tea and take supper. At this time the skin dwelling gets heated to such a degree that the men strip off their coats and remain half naked.[2] During the night the fur sleeping-tent gets cooled off, so that the temperature inside is but three or four degrees higher than that prevailing outside.

342 A Koryak tent seldom has less than three or four inner sleeping-tents.
571 The master, the families of his relatives and of his herdsmen, live in the same tent; and often members of the same tribe, not related, but wandering together, live in one tent.

During the fair on the Palpal (see Plate XIX, Fig. 2) the Reindeer Koryak put up one common tent with two hearths placed like the foci of an ellipse, and with a passageway, on the two sides of which were sixteen inner tents (eight on each side). Over a hundred persons occupied this tent, the longer diameter of which exceeded twenty metres in length. Kennan[3] mentions a large tent of Reindeer Koryak in northern Kamchatka in which he counted twenty-six inner tents. I had no chance to see tents accommodating so many, except the one at the fair. The large tent of the Taigonos elder (see Plate XIX,

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[1] For a detailed description of this dwelling, see Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 169.

[2] It is curious to note, that, while the Chukchee women take off their clothing down to the waist-line, even in the presence of strangers, the Koryak women are too modest to do so in the presence of company.

[3] See Kennan, p. 197.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY

Fig. 2) had six sleeping-tents for thirty people. Among them were eleven persons not related to him, — herdsmen and their families.

The difference between the summer and winter tents is in the quality of the cover. For winter it is made of better and heavier skins. All holes and openings in it are sewed up and covered over, and the snow is piled up all around the tent. The inner tent for summer is made of old skins with the hair clipped short. Among some Reindeer Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula I saw inner tents made of dressed reindeer-skins, like those of the Tungus.

To my mind, the Koryak tent with its inner sleeping-place appears to be a compromise between the tent of the Asiatic nomads and the snow-house of the Eskimo. The inner tent is illuminated and partly heated by a lamp fed with reindeer-fat, like the oil-lamp of the Eskimo house; while the hearth of the outer tent is intended for cooking mainly.

Except on particular occasions, when Reindeer Koryak assemble in numbers, either for purposes of trade or for the celebration of festivals, a camp (ya'mkən, "people," the Koryak term for a camp of Reindeer people) is seldom composed of more than three tents. At least, I have never seen any more populous camps. A camp (see Plate XXI, Fig. 2) is usually composed of families, or groups of families, connected by ties of kinship (by blood or by marriage); or of a wealthy reindeer-owner and the families of his herdsmen; or of families not at all related to one another, but who, for the convenience of common pasture-grounds and the supervision of the herd, have combined their small herds.

The camp does not move from place to place as frequently as the Arctic nomads are supposed to do. There are four main removals during the year. Towards winter, in October, they put up their tents in the river-valleys, under the protection of high banks, among poplar and aspen groves. In spring, at the end of March, before the fawning-period begins, they descend into the open tundras of the lower courses of rivers, which are covered with lichen. In summer, in the month of July, they ascend the mountains to be near the river-sources. In the fall, at the time of the fawn festival, they return from the ridges to the elevated tundras of the watersheds and the river-valleys.

Other removals depend upon special causes; for instance, the exhaustion of pasturage, the prevalence of an epidemic among the people, or of some disease that attacks the reindeer; and sometimes the removal is for purposes of trade.

In olden times, according to tales of the Koryak, when an attack by a hostile neighbor was anticipated, and also during the wars with the Russians, the camps were surrounded by sledges, and the reindeer were driven inside of this fortified camp.

MARITIME KORYAK. — Like the tent of the Reindeer people, the dwelling of the Maritime Koryak is called, besides ĭ'ge-yan ("genuine house"), also yayáñi.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

yaya'ñi. It is an underground, or rather semi-underground, solidly built, permanent dwelling-place. It is of wood, mainly of poplar or aspen, which grows to a considerable height even along the lower courses of the rivers of the Koryak territory. The Koryak float the timber down in summer to the mouths of the rivers; and sometimes they use driftwood. Driftwood carried down by the current from the river-heads may be found mountain-high in the bays and at the mouths of the rivers.

The dwellings vary in size according to the number of inhabitants. Small houses occupied by a family of from five to eight persons may be found frequently. From excavations undertaken by me on the sites of ancient settlements in Gishiga Bay, it appears that in olden times the underground houses were more spacious than those of the present time. Families separated more rarely, and all relatives used to live together. The average number of occupants of one house at present is from six to thirteen. Out of 110 underground houses on the shores of Penshina Bay, of which I took a census, in only one (in the Paren settlement) did I find twenty-one persons, and they comprised two families. According to tales of olden times, there were formerly underground houses occupied by as many as forty persons. Among the Kerek we still find twenty-five persons in one house.[1] A house in Mikino (Plate xx) inhabited by fifteen people was found to be 15 metres long (not including the entrance-room), 12 metres wide, and 7 metres high. Such a house is somewhat larger than the average present-day underground house; and those but half as large, or even smaller, may often be found.

In order to build an underground house, a circular hole from 1 to 1.5 metres deep is dug, in which the walls are put up in the form of an octagon. The octagon is not equilateral. The sides *a* (Fig. 60) are longer than *b*; and the sides *c* are half as long as *b*. Eight poles (*P*) about as long as the height of a man are driven into the ground at the eight corners. Between the poles two vertical rows of split logs, or large poles, or round stakes, are driven into the ground, and the spaces between them are filled in with dry grass. The tops of the eight outside corner poles (*P*) are notched, and

Fig. 60. Plan of Underground House.

[1] See p. 440

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

XIII. — SOCIAL LIFE.

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ANCIENT FORMS OF SOCIAL LIFE. — Social units, in the sense of organized tribal or gentile groups, do not exist among the Koryak. The agnatic family is the social unit. We do, however, find certain facts which seem to indicate the incipient formation of social groups exceeding the limits of a large patriarchal family. One such element, as I have stated before, is the relationship through marriage. Families which enter into such relationships thereby assume certain reciprocal material and moral obligations.

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In those customs of the Koryak which refer to social relations, two antithetical tendencies are clearly discernible. One of these tendencies, which we might call anti-social, furthers the isolation of family groups of blood-relatives. The other tendency, on the contrary, develops the germs of a broader social organization. This antagonism in the social life of the Koryak was more marked before the advent of the Russians. Natural evolution would undoubtedly have led to an increasing predominance of the social element. Under the influence of the Russians, however, the social structure of the Koryak has degenerated. All antagonism having become obliterated, their present social life is colorless, and an independent development of social forms can no longer be expected.

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I shall attempt to reconstruct the ancient social life of the Koryak from traditions as well as from still discernible survivals of the past. Constant wars, not only with other peoples, but between the separate groups of the Koryak themselves, and the ravages of blood-revenge between the families, rendered life insecure. Every stranger was regarded as a possible enemy. If an unknown man appeared in the settlement or the camp, he was at once asked where he came from, his weapons were inspected, and he was forced into a contest in order that his strength and agility might be ascertained. Then only was he admitted to the house. I was told of an ancient Koryak brave who, before attacking a man, would appear before him in disguise, in a miserable condition, his clothes in rags, and carrying a poor bow. In the ensuing contest he would defend himself but feebly, trying meanwhile to find out the strength of his adversary. During the contests at feasts, the warriors of the various settlements would carefully note each other's strength and methods, in order to profit by the knowledge thus obtained when real feuds would arise.

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The attitude towards an outsider as an enemy or ill-wisher found expression not only in the fear of physical injury, but also in the fear of the evil